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TN-103

A VERMONT WHAT'SIT?



**VERMONT RYDER-13 WITH A CLARITY
NEVER SEEN BEFORE!**

Enlarged 1.5X

Sequential page 911

**And now -- A VERMONT WHAT'SIT?
● from the CNL photofiles.**

(TN-103)

Illustrated on the frontispiece of this issue is another retooled specimen which we photographed in 1978 for Richard Picker. This one is an altered Vermont Ryder 13 (Bressett 17-V). The BRITAN NIA reverse on which the legend letters and date are always very weak has been reworked so that the legend and date are exceptionally strong, plus there are numerous modifications to the seated figure and to the shield design. It was difficult to determine whether any significant rework was applied to the obverse but the boldness of the figure suggests that the general outlines may have also been retooled.

This specimen appeared in the Stack's October 24, 1984 auction sale of The Richard Picker Collection where it was described as a fantasy piece produced through re-engraving, but not plated, in Lot 257. It realized \$220.00 in that sale.

Photographs do not do justice to the remarkable workmanship applied to such specimens. One must actually examine a specimen under a glass to appreciate what has been accomplished. Perhaps the most startling characteristic of these pieces, in addition to their design changes, is their remarkable coloration which appears to be perfectly normal! Needless to say they can be extremely deceptive as the experience of J. N. Spiro described in TN-102A on page 918 demonstrates.

We shall probably never learn the identities of the craftsmen who produced most of these retooled specimens. They were evidently crafted many years ago and no doubt required a substantial expenditure of time. While most modern collectors would classify these specimens as mutilated, they do exhibit a charm and a sense of humor that adds a certain freshness to a coin collection.

JCS

**COUNTERFEIT HALFPENCE, et al
● compiled by ye Editor.**

(TN-104)

We have received a number of comments from our Patrons as a result of TN-101 regarding the "reappearance" of the BETTS-4 counterfeit halfpence specimen and TN-100 regarding a new Machin's Mills variety 24-72C, and we are attempting here to summarize them and yet tie the observations together in an orderly manner since the general subject of Counterfeit Halfpence has generated considerable interest. As we stated on page 908 "... Counterfeit Halfpence ... is the one series of Early American coinages on which, possibly, more basic research remains to be accomplished than all others combined!"

● first -- from Eric P. Newman; St. Louis, Missouri

Eric took us to task for the confusion between Betts' statement in his 1886 address that the BETTS-4 specimen was in the Yale University collection and our statement that it was "unknown today" and had reappeared after 100 years. He observed that "... This was in the Yale collection the last time I checked up". He also pointed out that we had said the die break was on the obverse ... when of course we should have said "above the head of the reverse figure".

Having squared away the second error, let us discuss the "unknown today" statement. At the time The Annotated Betts was published by us (June 1981) it was our understanding that at least two attempts had been made (about 1975) to locate the BETTS-4 in the Yale collection, but it could not be found. Hence, the "unknown today" statement in our annotated reprint. Correspondence with Eric indicates that his last visit to the Yale collection was "... long before 1975." So, today, we are still uncertain whether the specimen is missing or has simply been overlooked. Perhaps one of our Patrons in the area could search for it again and let us know the result. In addition, Eric states that he has a specimen with the BETTS-4 obverse mated with a different reverse.

● next -- from Gary A. Trudgen; Endwell, New York

First, to set the record straight, Mike Ringo, not myself, owns the two 1785 imitation halfpence. I have studied and photographed both of Ringo's specimens. One is the BETTS-4 and the other has the same obverse die as BETTS-4 but a different reverse die, also dated 1785. The major difference in the reverse dies is the placement of the letters in the BRITANNIA legend.

I have made several other observations regarding BETTS-4: There are a few distinctive characteristics that I have noted. They are (1) Broken right serif on the "P" punch; the "R" is made by first punching a "P" into the die and then handcutting the diagonal stroke; (2) The date punches; (3) The "E" punch has a long vertical serif at the end of the central stroke; (4) The "T" punch has vertical serifs at each end of the top horizontal bar. It also has a long horizontal bar at the base; (5) Small narrow triangular denticles.

A year or so ago I visited ANS and Richard Doty permitted me to examine their Connecticut specimens with respect to BETTS-4. I discovered that a few 1785 Connecticut die varieties have the same characteristics that I have mentioned except for the broken right serif of the "P" punch. Connecticut 6.3-G of 1785 is a good example. I also located several 1787 Connecticuts that were missing the right serifs on the "P" punch; an example is 33.25-Z.24.

My tentative conclusion regarding the origin of BETTS-4 is that the dies came from the same source as some of the 1785 Connecticut coppers and possibly is an Abel Buell product made before he began cutting dies for Connecticut coppers. Perhaps these Ideas will start some discussion, hopefully constructive, on the subject.

● and finally -- from Michael Oppenheim; Montreal, Quebec, Canada

I am very interested in the area of George II and George III counterfeited haifpence and I completely agree with the statement that this area requires much more basic research, -- research that might be of tremendous benefit to our whole understanding of this period of time. I would like to make two comments related to this point.

(1) The plate of the 1787 counterfeit haifpence and its tie to the Betts' article are very important. However, this leaves us with one specimen mentioned twice by Betts in his article that has not been identified. This is the 1781 dated counterfeit. I have recently come across two specimens of a 1781 dated counterfeit. They are from different dies, but they are stylistically very similar. They also resemble the plate of the 1785 counterfeit (BETTS-4). I have found one other reference to the possible American origin of a 1781 counterfeit. In the Pine Tree Auction Co. sale of October 18, 1975, Lot 592:

1781. Not in Viack, not in Taxay. Not Machin's Mills work, but has been attributed to "Bungtown" alias Westerly, R.I., site of notorious counterfeiting operations. (The 1784 pictured by Viack is also ascribed to this source).

I am somewhat surprised by the attribution to Westerly. The 1784 plated by Viack (of which I own a very nice specimen) is not at all similar in style or lettering to the 1781. In addition, in Newman's famous article on "American Circulation of English and Bungtown Haifpence", he speculated that the 1784 was of North Swansea origin. Does anyone have further information on this question?

(2) It is interesting to note that in all of the discussion that I have seen concerning counterfeit George III haifpence that might have originated in America, there has been no mention of counterfeit Irish haifpence, only of counterfeit British haifpence. It is obvious that Irish haifpence circulated in the colonies, since there are many different coppers of American origin that have been found to be overstruck on these. In addition, when one examines the Canadian counterfeit George III haifpence, there are a number of pieces with the Irish harp instead of Britannia, i.e. Wood 5, 6 12 and possibly others. Although most of the Canadian "Blacksmiths" were struck decades later, I think that they are suggestive in this case and should be kept in mind in terms of further related questions. I would thus like to inquire whether any of the CNL Patrons have comments concerning or possible specimens of that elusive piece, the counterfeit Irish George II or George III haifpence of American origin.

Massachusetts Tradesman's Token**(TN-105)****W. WOART JUS PACIS****● from William T. Anton, Jr.; Lodi, New Jersey**

Bill Anton recently obtained a specimen struck uniface in a white metal which he believes to be an early Massachusetts Tradesman's Token from the late-1700 era. The specimen is illustrated below, enlarged 1.5x. The figure of the Indian is an extremely close duplication of the Indian appearing on the Massachusetts Cents and Half Cents.



We are assuming that W. WOART is the name of the Tradesman and that JUS PACIS translates into "Justice and Peace".

Bill points out that the letter punches were apparently identical to those used to produce the NOVA CONSTELLATIO coinage, specifically:

J = J of NOVA 4-D
U = U of NOVA 3-C
S = S of NOVA 3-C

A = A of NOVA 3-C & 4-D
T = T of NOVA 5-E
C = C of NOVA 1-A (1786)

EDITOR'S COMMENT:

If any of our Patrons have a similar specimen we would appreciate your writing to us with the details. We have searched several references, particularly those listing early American pewterers, for the name W. WOART but without success. Several American pewterers used elements of the Massachusetts coat of arms as their touches.

The major pewter centers in America during the 1700's were New York, Boston and Philadelphia, more or less the same cities which were the sources of our early American diesinkers. It occurred to us as we looked through numerous pages of touch marks that these were all produced by puncheons that must have been manufactured in like manner to the production of coinage dies. So far as we know there has never been a study undertaken which compares the lettering and style of pewterer's touches with the early American coinages. It seems obvious that at least a few of them must have been produced by the same individuals and that careful study and comparisons might reveal new information regarding our known diesinkers.

**THE FIRST AMERICAN COIN COLLECTOR,
PIERRE EUGENE DU SIMITIERE****(TN-106)****● from Edward R. Barnsley; Beach Haven, NJ**

Although much has been written about those legendary numismatists of the mid-Nineteenth Century who formed some of America's greatest coin collections, very little has been mentioned about their predecessors in the mid-Eighteenth Century. It appears that the outstanding American numismatist of two centuries ago was an eccentric artist, naturalist and antiquary named Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere, who was born in Geneva, Switzerland in 1737, but naturalized in New York in 1769. He removed to Philadelphia in 1774, where he lived until his death ten years later.

In that city he became creatively involved in the art of heraldry. He designed seals for the new states of New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia, for the County of Rockingham in Virginia, and for the corporation of the Wilmington Grammar School; those for New Jersey and Delaware are still in use today. In 1776 he was asked by John Adams to submit a design for a seal, never in fact coined, to be presented to General Washington, depicting the evacuation of Boston by the British on March 17, 1776. This commission led to another, much grander opportunity. Immediately after the signing of the Declaration of Independence a committee consisting of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin was formed to create a Great Seal for the new United States. The three statesmen turned to Du Simitiere for the seal's design. Apparently they were quite impressed, as they approved the obverse of his design. However, Congress never acted upon the committee's recommendation, and a seal was not adopted until June 20, 1782. Du Simitiere's design for the Eye of Providence, originally only a small part of his seal's obverse, then became and still is the central motif for the reverse of the present Great Seal.

General George Washington sat for Du Simitiere on February 1, 1779, and the likeness which the artist produced was engraved in Paris and became an ubiquitous image in Europe which adorned everything from enameled coat hooks and printed textiles to Wedgwood creamware.

In America his Washington profile was used only on the 1791 one cent piece. Du Simitiere was one of the first American numismatists. Coins fascinated him and he made no exceptions when it came to collecting them. Roman, Greek, Oriental, Continental, Russian, Arabic, English, Irish, American -- silver, gold, and copper -- coins and medals were all to be found in his collection, which at one point exceeded 500 items. His journals are filled with notes and transcriptions of others' works concerning such matters as Caribbean monetary issues and the discoveries of North American wampum. His museum included a separate section for coins. The fact that he saw coins as more than just artistic creations is demonstrated by his large collection of books on the creation of an American currency. Unfortunately, flair for numismatics did not guarantee skill in managing personal finances, and in 1770 Du Simitiere was forced to sell many of his most valuable

coins for ready cash. He intended to buy them back, but never succeed in building his collection back to its former stature.

Du Simitiere was a member and onetime curator of the American Philosophical Society. He also received an honorary degree of Master of Arts from the College of New Jersey, now known as Princeton University. In May 1782 he opened in his Philadelphia home what he called his American Museum to display his great collection of "Natural and Artificial Curiosities". It thus became the first privately owned, consciously assembled and organized collection of museum material made available to the general public for profit. Two years later, however, Du Simitiere died bankrupt, and all the artifacts in his museum were sold at public auction on March 10, 1785 to pay his creditors. Lot 19 containing his coin collection was acquired by his neighbor and co-executor Matthew Clarkson, and sold by his estate in 1800. Its whereabouts have not been traced any further.

We have abstracted the above information from descriptions of exhibits in the Library Company of Philadelphia's unpagged catalog of a special exhibition held in the Library from July to October, 1985 which was called: "Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere, His American Museum, 200 Years After"

Signed: **Edward R. Barnsley**

EDITOR'S NOTE:

In the third paragraph a reference is made to American usage of Du Simitiere's profile of General Washington as "... being used only on the 1791 one cent piece." The only specimens that seem to fit that description are the WASHINGTON PRESIDENT 1791 Large and Small Eagle Issues believed to have been engraved by Hancock, a Birmingham, England engraver then employed by Boulton and Watt. (See Vlack "Early Coins of America", 1965, page 106.) If this is, in fact, a rendering of Du Simitiere's 1779 likeness of Washington, it seems to be the first time that this attribution has been recognized numismatically.

Also -- in his September 1985 issue of "The Numismatic Bookseller" CNL Patron George Frederick Kolbe illustrates the broadside for the March 10, 1785 sale of the contents of Du Simitiere's AMERICAN MUSEUM. In his accompanying article, titled "The First American Coin Auction", Kolbe points out that the Du Simitiere auction predates by forty three years the earliest coin sale listed in "Attinelli" on a broadside dated 1828. Ye Editor thinks it rather appropriate that "The First American Coin Collector" should have generated "The First American Coin Auction".

"Attinelli" is Attinelli, E.J. A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN NUMISMATIC AUCTION CATALOGUES 1828-1875. (1976 reprint with rarity guide. 149 pp. Cloth, d.j.)



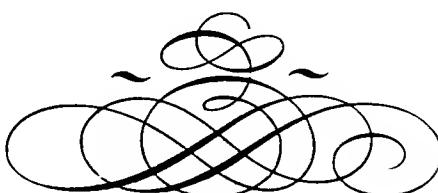
**ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON A NEW JERSEY WHAT'SIT
● from Scott D. Barnes; Auburn, NY (TN-102A)**

The coin which is plated as a New Jersey What'sit (CNL page 910) was originally purchased in 1936 by the late Jack N. Spiro from a dealer. It was discussed by Mr. Spiro in a Coin Collector's Journal (CCJ) article in February, 1938 (Vol. 4, No. 11, p.261). In the article Mr. Spiro discusses the circumstances behind his purchase and his identification of the coin, which was a Maris 6-D which had been altered on the obverse.

The Spiro New Jersey collection was sold by Hans Schulman in March, 1955 but the coin in question fails to show up as a listed lot -- perhaps it was a part of a multiple lot sold near the end of the sale. In any case, it was apparently acquired by Mr. Picker who was obviously intrigued by it and spent some time -- and delight -- in examining it. The coin in question does appear to be an altered Maris 6-D which normally has the obverse horse's head pointed to the right. It must have taken some effort by the engraver to turn it to the left!

EDITOR'S COMMENT:

J. N. Spiro's article in CCJ is titled "A Dangerous Forgery" and relates how Spiro purchased the specimen in 1936 as a "new variety" at an "abnormal" price from which he "recoiled" when he first saw it, only to discover later while looking through a Parmalee Sale catalog an almost identical obverse on a Maris 14-J which was identified, to his chagrin, as an alteration. We do not know, today, the location of this interesting 6-D specimen which is the same specimen as that illustrated by Spiro; it did not appear in the Picker Sale of October 24, 1984. The present location of the Parmalee altered 14-J is also unknown to us, nor have we seen it. Perhaps one of our Patrons can locate it for us.



SURVEY UPDATE -- VERMONT RYDER 15 AND RYDER 30
● **from Roy E. Bonjour; Flushing, New York (TN-107)**

For the past three years Roy Bonjour been working on a survey to determine the number of extant specimens, and their condition, of the two rarest issues of Vermont Coppers, Ryder 15 (Bressett 9-1) and Ryder 30 (Bressett 23-S). The initial results of the search, conducted through surveys of members of the Early American Coppers Club and Patrons of The Colonial Newsletter, and other sources, were presented in Issue No. 100 (Vol.XVIII, No. 1) of "Penny-Wise", pages 3-5. Additional information has been compiled during his continuing investigation, several more specimens have appeared, some specimens have changed ownership, and the present owners of most of the extant specimens have agreed that their names can be identified with the specimens.

It is now possible to compile a meaningful revision of the data presented in the initial report. The two accompanying charts indicate the present ownership, condition, and pedigree. Thirteen specimens of Ryder 15 are tabulated, and seventeen specimens of Ryder 30. There is little doubt that a few additional specimens will be discovered as time passes, but for the moment these charts indicate all of the known specimens of these difficult to obtain varieties of the Vermont Coppers. The specimens of Ryder 15 and Ryder 30 that were stolen some years ago from the Bennington Museum have NOT been included in the tabulation since we suspect that these no longer exist; specimens presently owned by the museum ARE listed.

Very special thanks are due to Q. David Bowers for the photograph of Ryder 15 and to Stack's for the photograph of Ryder 30.

The research on these two varieties is continuing. Owners of Ryder 15 and Ryder 30 who may not have responded to the survey are invited to do so. And - we still lack photographs and specific details on many of the tabulated specimens. Your assistance with filling in the blanks or expanding the detail presented will be sincerely appreciated. Please write to:

Roy E. Bonjour
68-21 150 Street
Flushing, New York 11367

See page 920 for Ryder 15 specimens ---->
See page 921 for Ryder 30 specimens ----->





RYDER 15



OWNER	CONDITION	PEDIGREE
Anton	Extremely Fine	Dr. H.M. Smith
Anton	VG/VF	Nickelson
August	VF-XF	
Bennington Museum	Very Fine	Viack
Bowers	Very Fine overstruck on Ryder 4	BonJour/ Bowers RCR #34
Bowers	F-VF	Hinkley/Bowers/Newton
Groves	Fine, mahogany color, holed	Sotheby's Canfield Sale Lot No. 21
Newman	Very Good	
Norton	Very Fine	
Partridge	not stated	
Rock	About VG	
Unknown	Fine, struck over George III halfpence.	Anton/Hawley
Unknown	Very Fine, struck over 1775 George III halfpence.	Anton



RYDER 30



OWNER

CONDITION

PEDIGREE

A.N.S. Good; AUCTORI is off planchet. Acquired March 1943

Anton VF/F, 0 off coin Dr. H.M. Smith

Anonymous Extremely Fine 45; only trace of 0 present.

August VF-XF

Bennington Museum Good; 0 off coin. Vlack

Bibbins About Good; 50% of 0 present Bowers RCR #40/August

Bonjour Good; Unknown counterstamp on obv. Terranova/Anton Lower part of 0 present.

Bowers Extremely Fine; 40% of 0 present. Hinkley/Bowers/Hanson

Guth Good 4

Hinkley About Uncirculated; 40% of 0 present. Bowers/Vlack/Stearns/Stickney

Norton Very Good

Norweb Very Fine Breen

Partridge Not stated

Partridge Altered; plated in ANS "Studies on Money ..." 1976. Page 179

Terranova Very Fine; full 0 Roper

Unknown -
Sold in the Bluegrass Collection. May 1984.
Lot 53 -- plated.

Poor, holed. A.N.S./Canfield from N.J.Historical Society, 1931

*** COMMENTS ON THE FUGIO CENTS OF 1787 ***
Part VII

SPECULATION on the ORIGIN of the CLUB RAY FUGIOS.

From time to time I have thought about the possible origin of the Club Ray Fugio Cents of 1787, but no direct evidence has appeared to support any specific location as the source for this unique set of coinage specimens. When I wrote about this unusual group of specimens in 1967 (CNL, s.p. 179-183) I concluded that they had been produced by a diesinker who was a different person from he who produced the dies for the Fine Ray varieties and that the dies had been manufactured utilizing a damaged obverse hub which necessitated hand recutting of the rays of the sun into each die sunk from this damaged hub.

The discovery by Anthony Terranova of an additional Club Ray variety, 24-MM, in 1979 (CNL, s.p. 667-668) did not present any new evidence that might change my existing ideas about the Club Ray specimens but instead reinforced those already expressed. The new 24-MM exhibited all of the same unique characteristics as did the other Club Ray varieties.

What we have today is circumstantial evidence that suggests only that the Club Ray varieties were produced under considerably different conditions than were the Fine Ray varieties. Little more. This circumstantial evidence permits us to believe, with a reasonable possibility of correctness, that the Club Ray varieties were probably manufactured:

- (1) by someone not directly concerned with the manufacture of the Fine Ray varieties,
- (2) at a point in time later than the manufacture of the Fine Ray varieties, and
- (3) under circumstances that precluded the same high level of skill and quality exhibited by the Fine Ray varieties.

In his manuscript "James Jarvis and the Fugio Coppers", portions of which have been published in CNL, Damon G. Douglas concluded that the source of the Fugio Cents was most likely a mint in New Haven, Connecticut operated by Samuel Broome, father-in-law of James Jarvis, and that the coins were the "product of a single mint and of a rather brief coining operation ..." (CNL, s.p. 582). Douglas also concluded that the sometimes suggested production of Fugio Cents by William Buell at the Rupert Vermont mint of Ruben Harmon could not have been accomplished within the timeframe of the Rupert operations.

A question that remains today is -- given the unique differences between the Club Ray Fugios and the Fine Ray Fugios -- where were the Club Ray dies manufactured and where was the coinage struck?

Interestingly, the same question can be asked for more or less the identical reasons regarding the entire 1785 issue of Connecticut Coppers! Even though the "Company for Coining Coppers" was formed on November 12th, 1785 (Crosby, 222) they did not issue their first coins until February 9, 1786 (Literary Digest of Ezra Stiles, III, 208). From this we could suggest that all of the 1785 issues of Connecticut Coppers were back dated from post-1785 strikings! (E.R.Barnsley, private communication, May 7, 1973). Just as the Club Ray Fugios differ substantially from the Fine Ray Fugios, the 1785 Connecticut Coppers are, for the most part, substantially different from those of subsequent "years".

One purpose of this discussion is to remind myself, as well as CNL Patrons, that a substantial amount of current "fact" regarding the origins of various Early American coinages is based on speculation and we must be prepared to admit to ourselves that new findings may substantially change earlier concepts. Speculation is perhaps too harsh a word. In its place we might have said conjecture or assumption. But the fact is that there remains to be accomplished a great amount of research before many of these areas can be sorted out with a high degree of confidence in the accuracy of the conclusions. It is very good to develop theories so long as we do not translate them through long time acceptance into fact, and become trapped in this mindset.

This writing is prompted by a growing tendency in recent years by some to ascribe anything of uncertain origin in the area of Early American numismatics, without any evidence or logical theory whatsoever, to that clandestine mint located on the shore of Orange Lake near Newburgh New York known today as Machin's Mills and to die sinker James F. Atiee. The most recent addition to the list of products of Machin's Mills are the Club Ray Fugios of 1787. This is not an entirely new idea as Damon G. Douglas has noted that the concept existed at the time he was working on his manuscript (CNL, s.p. 582). I must admit that I have seriously considered Machin as a possible source for these specimens, and have expressed that thought in correspondence, just as I am doing here, but like Douglas I have been unable to establish evidence to support such an assumption, and I do not believe they were produced at Machin's Mills. The method of operation of the Machin group seemingly was to produce a very much under weight coin that could be passed along to others at a value well above its actual value, but the Club Ray Fugios do not fit at all within this context because they are NOT under weight but fit very nicely within the spread of weights of the Fine Ray Fugios.

I suggest that it is much more reasonable to propose that the Club Ray Fugios were manufactured by Benjamin Buell, following his father's departure to Europe, during the period from April 7th 1789 when the James Wadsworth - Daniel Holbrook Committee inspected the New Haven Mint and June 20th, 1789 when operations were stopped by order of the Connecticut Assembly. Abel Buell entrusted the operation of the Connecticut Mint to son Benjamin, as the Committee report states, and it is reasonable to suppose that he would have also entrusted the care of his tools as well, among which would almost certainly have been

Fugio working hubs from which Benjamin could have inexpertly attempted to manufacture Fugio working dies, damaging an obverse working hub in the process. Benjamin would have had some ten weeks for operation at the New Haven Connecticut mint, following the Committee Inspection, during which time he could have produced whatever he desired. That planchets were available is evidenced by the Committee's statement that Benjamin "has Just begun" stamping coins. After June 20th 1789 it would have been illegal for Benjamin Buell to continue manufacturing Connecticut Coppers but production of Fugios would have been of no concern to the State of Connecticut.

It is not clear from their report whether Wadsworth and Holbrook physically inspected the mint facility or merely obtained depositions. Their report states that they met at the "...Dweling House of John Smith Inholder in New Haven ... and haveing examined touching the Premises We find ...". This archaic language leaves the exact procedure in some doubt.

Neither Abel Buell or James Jarvis attended the inspection meeting of the Committee. Buell's absence is explained in the context of Benjamin Buell's operation of the mint -- Abel is in Europe; Jarvis, the majority shareholder with 9/12 interest in the Company is missing without explanation. Under normal circumstances Jarvis would also have been in Europe as he and Mrs. Jarvis had a trip planned for the first week of 1789; however, the sudden death of his wife in New Haven on the last day of 1788 may have caused Jarvis to cancel or delay his own departure. (CNL, s.p. 287).

The Committee report indicates that Wadsworth and Holbrook conducted an in-depth investigation that spanned the entire operation from the beginning. Several key findings appear in this report, at least four of these are germane to my suggested manufacture of Club Ray Fugios at the Company for Coining Coppers mint. These are:

- (1) Coinage of Connecticut Coppers had ceased as of 1 June 1787.
- (2) No coinage other than the authorized Connecticuts had been stamped by anyone.
- (3) Blank planchets had been manufactured (fall of 1788) for others, but stamped elsewhere.
- (4) As of 9 April 1789 this mint had just begun operating again under the direction of Benjamin Buell.

A conclusion that can be drawn from these facts is that this mint site -- the actual physical facility -- was the same facility that had existed from the beginning regardless of changes in ownership interests, it had planchet manufacturing capability, it had not been used for the manufacture of Fugio Cents, and while it had been intermittently idle for an extended period of time it was once again operating as of April 1789 making Connecticut Coppers. It is at this same mint site that I suggest Benjamin Buell produced the Club Ray Fugios. There is no certain explanation as to the physical location of the Company for Coining Coppers mint site in or near the City of New Haven. It seems clear that it was probably NOT the same physical

location as that used for the regular production of Fugio Cents believed to have been the Water Street site operated by Jarvis' father-in-law Samuel Broome (CNL, s.p. 278). We shall probably never know the precise answers on the physical locations until some additional documentation is discovered relating to these questions.

My theory, needless to say, is speculation and I do not suggest that it is anything else. It is only a benchmark to be tested by time and future research, but it is, I believe, a much more reasonable benchmark than is Machin's Mills. As modern research techniques such as nondestructive spectroscopic analysis of trace elements contained in the planchets of Early American coins can be applied to statistically significant quantities of specimens, and the findings compared, only then can such questions begin to be resolved on a scientific basis. Improved analytical techniques will certainly be developed which will significantly speed up the rather slow and expensive process by which such data can presently be obtained.

There is one small bit of evidence not previously mentioned that uniquely punch links the Club Ray Fugios to some of the 1787 Connecticut Coppers. On all of the Club Ray Fugios the G in Fugio is handcut into a G from an C punch. On the FUCIO varieties the diesinker simply neglected to handcut the crossbar to convert the C into a G. That C punch is the same C punch used in AUCTORI and CONNEC on Connecticut types 32 and 43; the same Connecticut types that include the Fugio cinquifoils, fleurons, periods rather than colons, as well as the Fugio F recut into the E of CONNEC.

Miller Connecticut Type 43 exists because of the same sort of diesinking error as the FUCIO varieties of Fugio Cents -- forgetfulness or carelessness -- failure to handcut the F into an E on the die, exactly as the failure to handcut the C into a G. A Type 43 Connecticut die became a Type 32 when the F became an E by handwork. When one examines the various Miller die types within the many tightly die linked Connecticut groups one discovers many cases of this sort of transiation where a single die cutting error resulted in a different type notation under Miller's system and where it is fairly obvious that had not the error been made a particular Miller type would have become a much more common type. I shall discuss this fascinating subject of the transiation of Miller die types in greater depth in a future article. It is mentioned here only to illustrate the existence of a common diesinking problem between the Club Ray Fugios and a particular group of Connecticut Coppers, a fact that I believe is important in supporting the proposition that the manufacture of the Club Ray Fugio dies and their striking took place in the latter days of the Connecticut mint and not at Machin's Mills.

J. C. Spilman